Here the mountain slopes which

/14 cont./ only 70 years ago were still covered with dense tree growth are now cleared to gain pasture areas for stock-raising, thus causing extensive erosion of the normally already very thin humus covering and a certain sterility of the soil. The situation is different in the villages still exclusively inhabited by Indios in northern Tierradentro. They lie in part considerably higher (Mosoco, Vitoncó, Suin, and Lame about 2,500 meters). Here the nights are already perceptibly cold. Coffee no longer thrives, in its stead maize and potatoes. It is also the best climate for cattle-raising. The mountain slopes, due to relatively sparse settlement on the part of the Paez, have not all been put to economic use as yet; the /15/ tree growth guarantees natural water conservation throughout the year.

The two rainy periods of the year are from May to June and October to December. During these times, especially in the rainy period of the first half of the year, it rains in considerable amounts every day, whereas the dry periods are regularly free of precipitation.

Tierradentro's wealth underground has not yet been explored with modern means. In pre-Spanish times, and even after the Conquista /the Spanish conquest; see the glossary, p. 249 /, numerous salt beds were exploited. The Spaniards brought Negro slaves into Tierradentro as mine workers, whose descendants make up a considerable part of the population of Belalcázar. Today some of them work as gold-washers on the banks of the Río Paez. In Indian times gold was still obtained at Tálaga, San Vicente, and Jambaló. In the southern part of Tierradentro the silver mines were a significant economic factor near the city of La Plata -- so-named because of its important finds.

From colonial times up to five years ago only the routes passable for human beings and horses (caminos de herradura /bridle paths/) were available for traffic routes. The two chief connections were from Inzá over Paramo de las Guanacas to Silvia and Popayán and into the Cauca Valley, as well as from Inzá via La Plata into the Magdalena Valley.

/107 cont./

123 knew tales he could tell, and to whom we gave tobacco and salt and a few other small gifts, a knife, a hoe, or an aluminum cup. At the moment he had a headache, he said. I gave him a few tablets, and we agreed that I would come back the next morning and he would tell me a few tales. When we arrived the next day, after hours of tramping, his wife told us that her husband had gone into the mountains very early that morning in order to cut wood.

115 Our first visit in Calderas took place in the company of the interpreter, Marcos Antonio Penkue, a Paez about 40 years old from San Andrés, who regarded himself as very civilized and who had reached a certain position of wealth. He served as a [191] soldier on the Brazilian border and speaks Spanish well. On his [245] finca /see the glossary, p. 249 / he has about 2,000 coffee trees, [439] whose yield he sells in Inzá on the market. He also carries on [464] other business there by functioning as an interpreter and middleman for the non-Spanish-speaking and generally unbusinesslike Paez. During our work in Calderas he combined business with his services. [233] The Paez are ardent cattle-raisers, albeit not in our economic sense, but purely for sport and the pleasure of numbers. A cow-calf is much more valuable to them than a full-grown bull, for [437] it will produce another calf and increase the herd. Thus, Marcos Antonio exchanged calves for bulls in Calderas and, indeed, bought [434] some cattle himself. These business transactions bring him about 200 to 250 pesos profit per head, since among themselves the Paez ask only low prices, about 50 pesos for a bull. His selling price on the market in Inzá amounts to about 300 pesos. He regarded the work with us as highly troublesome, but he knew what he was worth to us. His fee rose from three pesos a day at the beginning to ten pesos. Translations that seemed to him too complicated or explanations that were too long for him he would give "in essence" in a few words, after which my counterquestions obviously annoyed him. One day when I had planned some important work, but he some important business, he hid our horses and calmly let us look for them all day long, while he, under the pretext of searching for the horses, carried on his business until he "found" them in the evening.

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124

/126 cont./

433 only on the basis of knowledge about their rites, ceremonial acts, mythology, cultic preparations, or festivals of thanksgiving. 433 This is difficult in view of the great cultural poverty of the Paez, 241 but it is noteworthy that nothing connected with agriculture or [233] with cattle-raising reveals any kind of cultic relationship. Neither during sowing nor harvesting was I able to observe or [224] learn of any kind of typical agricultural rites, whereas in connection with hunting, now economically unimportant, a number of precepts and prohibitions surround the hunter before and after his hunting.

a) Agriculture

243 191 114 The chief crop in the Calderun region, as among the Paez generally, is maize, which was at the same time the most important cultivated plant and the basic food of the American peoples from Patagonia to Canada in pre-Colombian times. To this day the discussion about its culture-historical origin has not come to an end. Formerly Central America was regarded as the original land of its cultivation. On ethno- /127/ botanical grounds and plant-geographical investigations, K. Birket-Smith (p. 32) assumes that the original land of maize cultivation is not Central America, but northern South America, since, according to the more recent botanical discoveries, the original form of maize is believed to have been found in the form of the pod corn (Zea mays tunicata) of the Andean countries. Not to be left unmentioned are the voices which most recently have argued for an Asiatic origin of maize, as well as of cotton (Zerries, 1952, pp. 104/5).

If we compare these hypotheses about the origin of maize with the first authenticated reports about its occurrence in America, we find as the oldest date the year 1493, when Columbus had already brought maize to Europe from his first journey across the ocean. As early as 1525 maize was extensively cultivated in the fields of Andalusia (Schweinfurt, pp. 514 f).

/140/

d) Animal Husbandry

231 Although the Paez keep large livestock, cattle and
233 horses, along with small livestock, they are not livestock-
[232] raisers in the true sense. They neither have anything to do
[492] with the breeding of their animals nor do they utilize their labor
[237] power to any great extent. The utilization of animal products,
231 too -- especially those of the large livestock -- bears no rela-
492 tion to the existing possibilities. Horses (hímba; stallion =
[556] himbapítste, mare = himbaóite) are used least of all, though they do find use now and then in milling sugar cane. Actually, people have them only to have them and to be considered rich. They are used neither as draft horses in front of wagons nor as beasts of burden, and only now and then as riding animals, without a saddle, by young people. Adult men do not ride, even
231 though the mountainous country, difficult to traverse on foot,
484 fairly challenges one to ride, and the Paez, on their visits to the
492 markets, see almost all the colonists on horseback. But "we are accustomed from the time of our forefathers to walk in the mountains," they reply, "and we are much faster on foot than you are on horseback." They are not wrong about this, and one would not like to trust one of the Paez horses, degenerated through inbreeding, to carry its rider on market days 30 kilometers over
232 hill and dale from Calderas to Inzá and back again. Since the
[556] Paez does not demand service of his horses, it is understandable that only the number of head counts for him and his reputation. How the horses look generally matters not at all; in no case is there any breeding selection, nor does a man know anything about the mating and birth of his animals, but generally finds out about a new litter only after it has arrived. Gestation times are unknown. From various parties I was assured that horses, cows, sheep, and pigs were pregnant "about a year." Castration of stallions, bulls, and rams is not known; it happens now and then in the case of boars, with the owner -- no specialist -- cutting out the testicles of the young pigs with a knife.

/140 cont./

231 439 Since the only purpose of keeping horses among the Paez is to have as large a number as possible, it is understandable that they place importance above all on the possession of mares. The birth of a filly is therefore a great joy and everyone would be happy to trade a grown stallion for a filly, "because it again gives foals." Unfortunately this exchange takes place only all too rarely, because the colonists are not interested in the degenerate horses of the Calderun. It is different with cows (kulá; steer = tolό, heifer = novílya). Here the /141/ Calderun breed (black mottled "Holstein" and brown cattle) is healthier and usually also stronger than the cattle of the colonists. Moreover, on account of the somewhat cooler climate, their bodies are almost completely free of ticks and vermin, in contrast to the cows belonging to the inhabitants of lower altitudes, normally 231 crawling with larvae and maggots. Unlike horse meat, beef is [262] eaten, but milk is never drunk, "since the Calderun never have [272] the cows milked." The breeding goal here, too, is the greatest possible number. Thus it would never happen that a cow or calf would be slaughtered. I could not learn of any preference for a particular color, for example, black-white or brown-white, or uniformly all black or white or brown. All are liked equally well [431] by the Paez, since only the number is important. There is no special attachment between a person and his livestock, for no one gives away livestock, either as a birthday, christening, or [552] wedding present. Special names or designations for livestock or pet names are not used.

●233 422 231 About half the total number of Calderun cattle and horses graze on the pastures of community land. This means about 40 horses and 60 cattle. The figure shows that only a small num- [554] ber of Calderun families own a cow or a horse. The proportion becomes even less favorable when one learns that there are three rich families who own about ten to 20 head of cattle and horses each. The other half of the large stock, as well as sheep, pigs, and small stock, remain near the houses and seek their fodder there. [241] They may also forage in the uncultivated fields of neighbors; they are prevented by the fences from breaking into the cultivated fields.

/141 cont./

231 Every member of the family knows every head of its herd
● 233 of livestock, and the men every head of the large livestock of
422 the entire village. Nevertheless, marks of ownership are used, which, for the horses, consist of branding irons with the first initial of the owner, such as are used by the colonists and may be bought there. The cattle have as marks of ownership small cuts in their ears in the form of a triangle, square, or semicircle, or a corresponding piercing of the ears. Pigs and sheep have the same marks of ownership in their ears.

231 Sheep (pĭša) are kept chiefly for their wool, though they
236 are also eaten. The total stock of the village, however, is so
[262] small that only every third family on the average owns one or
[422] two sheep. The other families must obtain the wool they need
[437] from the sheep owners in exchange for other things (see under
231 "Trade and Transportation" /see p. 92 /). /142/ Pigs (čúče)
[422] are greatly coveted because of their meat, but there are not enough of them so that every family can own one, only about every second family. Like all the other domestic animals, they roam about freely in the vicinity of the farmyard and must forage for their food. They are prevented from getting into the fenced fields by having a frame made of three sticks hung around their necks.

[343] Stalls for the animals or regular and special feeding or
[232] care are unknown. The owner puts rock salt in the pasture areas for the cattle and horses every Sunday. Occasionally scraps of arracacha or maize are thrown in front of the house for the pigs, which must then forage for them. Chickens (ătaly; rooster =
235 atalyepĭtste, chick = atalyelŭčkwe are now and then fed with maize or peck at the arracacha lying about in the dwelling. To feed baby chicks the woman chews some maize and spits out the
[685] mash for them. Every family has a few chickens, but their number does not grow large because foxes and neighbors are always
[422] stealing those wandering free. Hence the average figure remains
231 at only two to three chickens and a rooster per family. In many
262 houses guinea pigs (fits) run about, living on refuse from the kitchen and, when roasted, prized as a delicacy.

/314 cont./

105 241 [442] with sowing and harvesting otherwise characteristic of peoples who plant. It is not improbable that they practiced this field cultivation as they describe it for the Pijao. In the story /315/ of the Paez with the ax (No. 16) it is said that the Pijao were not familiar with tools in former times and, accordingly, could not fell trees to lay out a proper burned-off field. In order to obtain fields for their sowing, they were obliged to split the bark of trees with stones. After these were dried, they sowed their maize between the dead trunks.

105 [224] In connection with hunting, economically insignificant today, the hunter is surrounded by a number of prohibitions such as we find everywhere among hunting peoples throughout the world.

[226] Fishing is carried on with poisonous plants at weirs. It took place as a joint fishing expedition of the entire village in the February dry season when the water was at its lowest level of the year. This large annual fishing expedition was called enzte. The time

[233] [556] [23] period of one year was also designated with the same word. Raising large livestock is almost purely a sport or a matter of appearance and wealth. Horses are not used; cattle are slaughtered only for the three large annual Christian festivals (Semana Santa, San Juán, Immaculada).

[773] [441] Among weapons, only the shotgun for hunting is of significance today. The pellet blowgun and the stone-sling are used as toys. In the mythology the latter plays an important part as a decisive weapon in war.

In the handcraft techniques of plaiting and weaving, the use of agave fiber and sheep wool predominates, generally in the form of spun and twisted threads. The carrying bags of agave fiber and the wool coca bags are made by the loop technique; the hammocks, bird nets, berry sieves, and stone-slings by the knot technique. Only straw hats are plaited. The bands of the fiber bags are woven out of agave fibers; the women's belts and the articles of clothing of men and women, out of sheep wool. The weaving method is simple rod-weaving with the linen texture. The women's belts have an ornamental warp formed during the weaving process. The weaving frame is vertical, of the so-called

361 /295 cont./
311 strong political groupings had their principal seats at Tálaga,
643 Suin, and Avirama (3). "The place of residence of a cacique
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[622] 3. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland
[103] Tribes of Southern Colombia," pp. 915-960.

constituted a sort of settlement or gathering place, most of which remain today as Indian pueblos and retain their names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima," Chitoquez, Cuetando, Yaquivá, Pisimbalá, and Itaibe, all of them located at the
361 temperate thermal level. It is precisely along the course of
311 the Páez River and along the middle and lower courses of its
161 tributaries that the Páez population is now concentrated.

13 2. Physiography. Merely a single glance at the wild geography of Tierradentro will give an idea of the pattern of life of the Páez people. The physiography of the entire course of the Páez River, from Irlanda to Itaibe, with nearly all of its tributaries, is compressed into profiled accidents. It might be said that it forms a "thermic chimney," Professor Guhl's expression. It belongs to the temperate thermal level. This is the land of the great slopes covered with natural pastures and of the short, narrow vegas with fertile soils. There are those who speak of the fertility of all the soil of Tierradentro, classifying it, consequently, as a privileged zone. The concept proves to be deceptive, because it does not take into account the physiographic factor. We find the usable vegetal layer /296/ only in the extremely narrow vegas of the rivers, ravines, and streams, and in places
13 where the topography becomes a little smoother. The left bank
241 of the Páez River, from Toez to La Plata, is usable for agricul-
[233] ture and stock-raising only with difficulty, given the brutality of the slopes. Every tributary that enters on this side is a deep ravine isolated by ridges running from northeast to southwest. On the other hand, the left bank has important vegas. It is there that plantains, manioc, sugar cane, coca, arracacha, maize, and lately coffee and guadua bamboo are grown. The soils are essentially acid, and the Gramineae grow in abundance

/320 cont./

231 chickens were not lacking. But it was impossible to obtain trust-
124 worthy information about this wealth. A mestizo trader very familiar with the region estimates that in Calderas there must be no fewer than about 350 head of cattle, a figure that is well
[162] deserving of credit. This parcialidad has approximately 150 families. In the statistical table that we present below 55 families are represented, for many of which the data are incomplete and others have an approximate value, deduced from information by third parties and from direct observation. The statistical tables for the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés correspond to reality.

● 233 Lands intended exclusively for pasture do not exist, with
[311] the exception of that which, on account of its rugged topography and deforestation, covered with grasses that become green again in winter, cannot be used for anything except for pasture, with the risk, of course, that the animals might wander away. In general the animals graze in the stubble, in the communal pastures, in the shade of the brush and thickets. In Calderas, for example, most of the livestock is hidden from strangers' eyes. They eat the branches and grasses that grow on lands that were once fields. In this way they grow wild and shy, but fat and exempt from disease. To catch these animals is equivalent to going on a real hunting expedition in that trained dogs participate, and 10 or 15 men outfitted with their respective lassos and suitably distributed in especially good places for lassoing, detaining, deflecting, or directing the progress of the animal being chased by the dogs. This work is done preferably on Sundays, at the special invitation of the cattleowners, either to brand the calves or to catch a cow intended for trade, sale, or slaughter. When the work is done, a good amount of chicha is consumed. Only the livestock that grazes on the communal llano is visible to strangers and relatively tame.

232 Everyone prefers females for reproduction. The males
439 are consumed, sold, or traded for young females and, rarely, for
231 other articles. Often there is a lack of breeding bulls. In such cases the cows do not calve and are regarded as sterile, a fact that is duly exploited by the white and mestizo traders in order to

propose 'trades'.

/321 cont./

231 The slaughtering of the head of cattle for consumption
[796] at religious fiestas is accompanied by music (1).
[533]

1. Bernal Villa, S. "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," p. 208.

[232] Of the equine livestock, they also prefer the females for
492 reproduction. Horses are used for the milling of sugar cane, for
484 the transport of loads, for long journeys. Many own saddles,
[249] /322/ although generally deteriorated ones. Women never ride
[482] on horseback. On long journeys the woman walks with a heavy
[562] load on her back, while the man rides without carrying anything to hinder him.

231 The horses of the Páez are small, but very hardy and suitable for the rugged and difficult roads. They do not own mules or
[754] donkeys. In Calderas it is said that someone brought a donkey
[789] for the purpose of producing young mules, but the envious ones (sorcerers) cast a spell on it and killed it. Nor do they own goats, which they regard as very thievish and destructive.

In the houses they raise guinea pigs, chickens, and turkeys, and, on a smaller scale, ducks. Furthermore, dogs,
[422] cats, and hogs are also raised. The former belong indifferently to men or women, while hogs and dogs are the exclusive property of the men.

The scant care given to domestic animals is worthy of note. There are no corrals of any sort, nor special caretakers
● [233] for the animals. Cattle are commonly left to fend for themselves in the pastures, and only every 15 days, or, more frequently, once a month, are they rounded up by their respective owners to
[232] check on their existence or multiplication. They know about the need to give salt to cattle, but this article is supplied in small quantities and at very long intervals. Most of the animals of Calderas go to a small spring of brackish water in Tumbichukue. Among the other domestic animals, only the chickens, turkeys, and guinea pigs are fed regularly with grass, maize, manioc, and

/323 cont./

231 There are no animal "pets," and none of the domestic animals serve as playthings or are regarded simply as "pretty." They all have a utilitarian purpose.

[556] The possession of domestic animals is a symbol of wealth. The owner of large tracts of land does not regard himself as rich, while the one who has domestic animals does.

231 There are commercial transactions with animals among the
435 natives. The prices are very low. "The Indian is poor," they
438 say, "he has no silver." For this reason, animals that among the whites would bring 200 pesos or more are sold among the natives for half the price or even less.

● 233 This state of affairs hardly exists among the natives of the
232 parcialidad of Mosoco. There are already ranches dedicated
[246] solely to livestock-raising. Some are planted with pasture grasses, especially poa. There is a marked tendency to improve the livestock, in quality as well as quantity. They know the excellence of the Norman and Holstein among the cattle and the Merino
231 among the sheep. They have special breeds of hogs and chickens.
[232] Many /324/ own mules and splendid riding horses. Commercial
[438] transactions involving animals bring a just price even among the
[782] natives themselves. Some of them are marvelous traders. They
[233] still retain the practice of making an offering to the Duende when slaughtering cattle or pigs. On the savannas of the Paramo de Moras the natives have magnificent herds. Livestock-raising in Mosoco is thus an industry at the height of development that deserves full attention on the part of the authorities.

23 In the statistical table that we present below one can observe the expansion of the livestock industry in Mosoco and com-
[128] pare it with those of Lame, San Andrés, and Calderas. The owners are natives, except for the whites and mestizos marked with an asterisk.